J.OURNAL

of

CAPTAIN HENRY DEARBORN

IN

THE QUEBEC EXPEDITION,

1775.

[Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1886.]

CAMBRIDGE:

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ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC,

1775-1776.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held April 15, 1886, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain described a journal of Captain Henry Dearborn in 1775–1776, belonging to the Boston Public Library, which relates the sufferings of the men who marched from Boston through the wilderness to Quebec, and narrates the attempt to capture the city which followed.

A Journal kept by Cap'. Henry Dearborne, of the Proceedings, and Particular occurrences, which happened within my knowledge, to the Troops, under the Command of Colonel Bennedicte Arnold, in the year 1775 Which Troops were detached from the American Army Lying before the Town of Boston, for the purpose of marching to, and taking possession of Quebec:—

Said detachment consisted of Eleven hundred Men, Two Battalians of Musket-men, and three Companies of Rifle-men as Lighte-Infantry.

Officiers of the 1st Battalian.

Lien! [Co]lo: [Roger Enos]
Maj! Return [J.] Me[i]gs
Cap! Thomas Williams
Cap! Henry Dearborne
Cap! Scott
Cap! Oliver Hanchett
Cap! William Goodrich

Officers of the 2d Battalion.

Lieu^t Colo: Christopher Green Maj: Timothy Biggelloe Cap^t Sam^t Ward Cap^t Simeon Thayre Cap^t John Topham Cap^t M^cCobb Cap^t Jonas Hubbard

¹ Henry Dearborn, of New Hampshire, who was in the military service during the Revolution, from the breaking out of hostilities in 1775 to the close of the war, kept journals of many of the transactions in which he participated. Some, if not all, of these are extant. Several are in the Boston Public Library, having been purchased at the sale of the manuscripts of the late John W. Thornton, who was executor of the will of Henry A. S. Dearborn, the son of the journalist. Two of Dearborn's journals are in private hands,—one covering the period of

The Captains of the Rifle Men.

Morgan Smith Hendrick

SEPTEM^R 10th 1775

I march'd my Company from Winter-Hill to Cambridge 11th 12th and the chief of the 13th We Lay at Cambridge preparing for to March, at 5 O Clock P. M: March'd from Cambridge to Medford, and Encamped,

- 14th at 12, O Clock march'd from Medford to Salem & Encamp'td
- 15 Marched to Ipswich and encamped.
- 16 Marched to Newbury Port and Encamped.
- 17 Being Sunday, we attended Divine Service there.
- 18th at 4 Clock, the whole detachment Embarked on Board 10 Vessels.

19 at 10 Clock A: M.. we made Sail, But as Soon as we got outside of the Bar, we hove too, — In order to receive the Several Signals which we were to observe while at Sea, Said Signals were to be given by the Vessel, which Colo: Arnold was on Board of Called the Commodore.

THE SIGNALS WERE AS FOLLOWETH VIZT

- 1st Signal, for Speaking with the whole Fleet an Ensign was to be Hoisted at the Main-Top: masthcad.
 - 2 Signal, for Chasing a Sail, Ensign at fore,top,mast, head.
- 3 Signal, for heaving too, a Lanthorn at Main, Topmast, head, and two guns if head on Shore, and three Guns, if off shore.
- 4 Signal, for making sail, in the Night, a Lanthorn at Mast head, and four Guns, In the day, a Jack at the fore Top: Mast-head.
- 5 Signal, for dispersing and every Vessel for making the Nearest, Harbour Ensign at the Main-Top Peak.
- 6 Signal, for Boarding any vessel, a Jack at Main Topmasthead—at 12 O Clock we put to Sea, and had a fair wind—at 10 O Clock... P: M: we have too, head, off Shore with a Brisk wind, the Chief of our people were Sea-Sick.

Sullivan's expedition against the Indians in the interior of New York, in 1779; and the other, that of Arnold's treason. So far as I have seen them, these journals, with one exception, are in Dearborn's handwriting. The exception is the journal which follows. But that it passed under his eye is evident from several additions and corrections from his own hand, that are indicated in the footnotes to the text. Dearborn was a man of some education and of great intelligence. He usually expressed his thoughts in good English, and could commit them to paper with accuracy and in a good handwriting. These facts beget a doubt whether I should have followed the vagaries of the copyist in orthography, punctuation, and the use of capital letters. But I have done so with fidelity, even to the omission of obvious words, so far as a twofold comparison of the copy with the text would secure an exact transcript of the journal. — M. C.

20 In the Morning, we made the mouth of Kennebeck River which we enter'd at 10 'Clock an Came to an Anchor, at 3... O: Cl P: M: we Weighed, Anchor and put up the River a Bout 3 Leagues, and came to an Anchor, I went on Shore at Rousask where there are a Number of Inhabitants and a Meeting house.

21st Put up the River as far as Swan Island, at the upper End of Merry-meeting-Bay-where we Run on Shore and Came to an Anchor, I went, on Shore with some of my officiers, and Stay'd all Night.

SEPTEME 22d

Proceeded, up the River. We pass'd Fort Richmond at 11: O Clock where there are but few Settlements at Present, this afternoon we pass'd Pownalborough, Where there is a Court-House and Goal — and some very good Settlements. This day at 4. O Clock we arrived at the place where our Batteaus were Built.

We were order'd to Leave one Sergeant, one Corporal and Thirteen men here to take a Long the Batteau's, they embark'd on Board the Batteaus, and we all proceeded up the River to Cabisaconty, or Gardners Town. Where Doctor Gardner of Boston owns a Large Tract of Land and Some Mills, & a Number of very good dwelling Houses, where we Stayed Last night, on Shore.

23^d We put up the River, and before Night, we arrived at Fort Western which is 50 Miles from the Month of the River, this evening a very unhappy accident happen'd, a Number of Soldiers being in a Private-house, some warm words Produced a quarrel and one Mc.Cormick being Turned out of the House, Soon after discharged his Gun into the House, and Shot a Man thro, the Body of which wound he Soon Expired.

Mc.Cormick was Try'd by a Court Martial and Condemn'd to be hanged, He abstinately denyed the fact until he was Brought under the Gallows where Confess'd the Crime — but for Some reasons was reprieved, until the pleasure of Gen! Washington could be known.

24th 25th 26th We lay at Fort Western preparing for our March—Fort Western Stands on the East side of the River and Consists of two Block Houses, and a Large House 100 feet Long which are Inclosed only with Picquets, this House is now the property of one Howard Esq. where we were well entertained.

25 Captains Morgan, Smith, and Hendrick, with their Companies of Rifle, Men embarked on Board their Batteaus, with orders to proceed up the River as far as the great Carrying place, there to Clear a Koad a Cross the Carrying place, while the other divisions were geting up.

26 . . . Colo: Green embark'd on Board the Batteaus with three Company's of Musketmen to proceed for CANADA.

27 ... at 3.. O: Clock P.. M: Major Meigs embarked on Board the Batteaus with four Companies of men, my Company being One of

them) With 45 days Provisions proceeded up the River four miles, and encampt, the not very rapid.

28 Procee'd up the River four miles, the Water exceeding Rapid,

some bad falls and encampt.

29 Proceeded up the River four miles to Fort Hallifax against a very rapid Stream, where we arrived at 11-O Clock A..M—this Fort stands on a point of Land, Between the Rivers Kenebeck and Sabastacook—It Consists of Two Large Block-Houses and a Large Barrack which is Inclosed by Picquet Fort—after Staying half an hour at the Fort I Cross'd the River to a Carrying place, which is 97 Rods, We Carry'd a Cross our Batteaus and Baggage and Encampt.

30 Proceeded up the River this Morning, found it exceeding rapid and rocky for five miles, so that any man would think, at its first appearance, that it was impossible to get Boats up it, I fill'd my Battoe to day, and wet all my Baggage, but with the greatest difficulty, we got over what is call'd the 5 mile ripples, and then encampt, and dryed my

Cloathing as well as I could.

Octo: 1 Proceeded up the River 3 miles, the Stream was very rapid, here Major Meigs had Bought an Ox, and had him dress'd for us when we came up, we eat what we could and took the remainder into our Batteaus, and proceeded up the River four miles further and encampt, the Water not so rapid as before, the Land here on the Shores very good in General.

2 Procee'd up the River Nine miles, the Water not very rapid intil towards Night, We encampt, it Rained very fast the most part of the

night.

- 3 Proceeded up the River over very bad falls and Shoals such as seem'd almost Impossible to Cross, But after much fatigue, and a Bundance of difficulty we arrived at Schonhega*-falls, where there is a Carrying place of 60 rods, here we hall'd up our Batteaus and Caulk'd them, as well as we could they being very leaky, by being knocked a Bont a Mong the Rocks, and not being well Built at first, we Carryed a Cross and loaded our Batteaus, and put a Cross the River, and encampt, this days March was not a Bove 3 Miles, from here I sent Back two Sick men.
- 4 Our Course in general from the mouth of the river to this place, has been from North, to North East, from here we Steer N: W.. to Norrigwalk, which is Twelve miles to where we arrived to night, the River here is not very rapid. Except Two bad falls, the Land on the North side of the river is very good, where there are 2 or 3 families settled, at Norrigwalk, is to be seen the ruins of an Indian Town, also a fort, a Chapel, and a Large Tract of Clear Land but not very good, there is but one family here at present Half a Mile above this old fort, is a Great fall, where there is a Carrying place of one Mile and a Quarter.

- 5 We haled up our Batteaus, and Clear'd them for overhauling, and repacked all our pork, and Bread, several Barrels of Bread was Spoiled, here we found Colo- Greens Division.
- 6 - After our Batteaus were repair'd, we Carry'd them a Cross the Carrying place, and Loaded them again, we put up the River two Miles and Encampt.
- 7 We proceeded up the river nine miles and encampt the Land we pass'd to day, was exceeding good, the Stream not very rapid, it rained very heavy all night.
- 8 It rain'd some part of this morning, But we proceeded up the river Seven miles to Carritunkus-falls, where we arriv'd at 1 O Clock, P: M: the Weather proved very rainy, here is a Carrying place of 95 Rods, we Carry'd a Cross and put up the river 3 miles, the water was very rapid, and encampt.
- 9 We proceeded up the River, 9 miles the Water was very Rapid, the river is divided here into a Number of Channels, occasion'd by small Islands, which Channels are Shoal and rapid, it rain'd the Bigest part of this day, We encamp'd at dusk, and I Catched Some fish before Supper.
- 10 We proceeded up the River, I march'd by Land, the Weather Severely Cold, in Crossing a Small River on a Logg I slipt off and fell flat on my Back in the river, the Water not being more than four feet deep I waded out, But was obliged to Stop and Strike up a fire, to dry me, at 2.. O.. Clock we arrived at the great Carrying place, Where we found the three Rifle Companies, and Colo: Green's Division we Carryed one Turn a Cross the Carrying place which is four miles, to a Pond.
- 11 Lieut! Hutchins and Ten of my men were order'd to assist Cap! M°Cob in Building a Block-House, here today, Our last Division has now arrived, Commanded by Colo.. Enos—We Carryed the Chief of our Baggage and Boats To-day.
- 12 This morning we took the remainder of our Baggage and march! a Cross the Car'ying place to the Pond, which is one mile wide But we Cannot Cross it today by reason of the winds blowing very hard, here we Catch'd plenty of . . . trout.¹
- 13 We Cross'd the pond and Came to another Carrying Place half a mile a Cross, where our first division had Built a Block-bouse and left some Sick men under the Care of Doctor Erving. We Carryed over the Carrying place to a pond, We Cross'd the pond, 1½ Miles and Came to a Carrying place, one mile and three Quarters, We Carry'd half a mile and encampt.
- 14 . . . We Carry'd a Cross the Carrying Place, to a Pond three miles over, we Cross'd the pond and Came to a Carrying place, four miles over a Very-high-Hill, and the last mile a Spruce Swamp Knee
- ¹ The word "fishes" is erased, and "trout," in Captain Dearborn's hand, inserted.

deep in mire all the way, We Carry'd one mile over this Carrying place and then Encampt, from here I sent three sick-men Back.

- 15 We Carry'd a Cross the Carrying place to a Small Stream within half a mile of the dead River, we went down this Stream into the River, and proceeded one Mile up said River and then encampt, the water here very deep and Still, the Land where we Encampt was very good.
- 16 At 12... Clock we proceeded up the River ten miles to a Small Carrying place 7 Rods a Cross and then encampt.
- 17 We proceeded up the River 10 miles and Came to an Indian Wig-Wam, Said to belong to an old Indian Called Nattannas it Stands on a Point of Land Beautifully situated, there is a Number of acres ¹ of Clear'd Land a Bout it, . . . the river is very Still, and good Land on each side of it a Considerable part of the way, To day we proceeded up the River 5 miles farther, and found Colo: Arnold, and Colo: Green with their Divisions, making up Cartridges, here we Encampt.
- 18.. The weather is very rainy To day. My men had their Powder-Horns filled with Powder... Joseph Thomas is appointed my Ensign, By Colo: Arnold this day, I had a ½ Quarter of Beef Served to my Company today.
- 19 .. The weather Rainy, at 2..O.. Clock A: M: We Set off: from this place proceeded up the River five miles, pass'd several Small falls and then Encampt.
- 20 Proceeded up the River, pass'd by Several small falls, one Carrying place, thirteen rods, the Weather rainy all day we Suppose this days March to be 13 Miles.
- 21 We proceeded up the River 3 Miles to a Carrying place 35 Rods Carry'd a Cross and Continued our Rout up the River two miles to a Porlag 30 Rods a Cross and Encampt.—it Rained very fast all Night, the River rose fast.
- 22 . The River has Risen eight or Nine feet, Which renders it very bad getting up, We pass'd three Carrying places To'day 74 Rods Each, our whole March To-day is not more than four miles, the River Rising so much, fills the Low ground so full of Water, that our Men on Shore have found it very difficult and Tedious Marching.
- 23 We Continued our March, tho very slow by reason of the Rapidity of the Stream, a very unlucky accident happen'd to us today, the most of our men by land 2 miss'd their way and marched up a Small river, Which Comes into the Dead River, a few Miles a Bove where we encampt last night, We fancied they took a Wrong Course, I Sent my Batteau up that four miles (where they that went in it) found the foot people had Cross'd the River on a Tree, and had Struck a Cross for the dead

¹ The word "farms" is erased, and "acres," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, inserted.

² The words "by land" are interlined in a different hand, — probably Captain Dearborn's.

River, my Batteau Came Back, and we proceeded up the River to a Carrying place, where we found our foot-men at the foot of these Falls, Several Batteaus overset, which were entirely lost, a Considerable quantity of Cloathing, Guns, and Provisions, our march to-day we Judge, to be, about 8 miles — here we held a Counsel, in Consequence of which we Sent Cap! Hanchet and 50 Men forward to Shadear as an advanced party, and Sent Back 26.. Sick-men under the Command, or Care of an officer and Doctor.

- 24 At 10...O, Clock, we proceeded up the River, the with a great deal of difficulty, the River being very rapid, This days march don't exceed four miles.
- 25 Continued our Rout up the River, the Stream very rapid, We pass'd three Carrying places, Two of them four Rods and the other 90, our march to-day 6 miles and then Encampt, . . . This Night I was Seized with a Violent Head-Ach and fever, Charles gather'd me some herbs in the woods, and made me Tea of them, I drank very Hearty of it and next morning felt much Better.
- 26 Continued our Rout and Came to a Poud 2 miles a Cross and then Came to a narrow gut ¹ 2 Rod wide, and four rod Long, and then to another Pond one mile over, then to a narrow Streight, 1½ miles Long, Then a third Pond 3 Miles over, Then pass'd another Streight half a mile Long, and then enter'd a fourth Pond a Bout a quarter of a Mile Wide, then entered a Narrow gut 4 Miles in Length, and then Came to a Carrying place 15 Rods a Cross, Here we Encampt.
- 27 . . . Cross'd the Carrying Place to a pond half a mile over, Came to a Carrying Place, one Mile, also to a Pond \(\frac{1}{4} \) Mile Wide, then to a Carrying place 44 Rod, to a Pond 2 Miles Wide and Cross'd it.—and Came to the 2 Carrying place into Chaudear pond 3 4\frac{1}{2} \) Miles a Cross, we received orders here to Leave our Batteans, and all march by Land, We here Divided our Provisions and gave every man his part, we march'd a Bout half a mile, and then encampt. Here I found a fine Birch Canoe Carefully Laid up, I Suppose by the Indian's.

Here a Very unhappy Circumstance happen'd to us, in our March, Which proved very fatal and Mortifying to us all, Viz^t—

When we were at the great Carrying place (just mention^d) from the Dead River to Shodeer Pond we had the unhappy News of Colo, Enos, and the three Company's in his Division, being so Imprudent as to return back Two or three days before which disheartned and discouraged our men very much, as they Carri'd Back more than their part, or quota of Provision, and Ammunition, and our Detachment, before being but Small, and now loosing these three Companies, We were Small, indeed,

¹ This word is in a different hand from that of the copyist.

² "A" is erased and "the" inserted by Captain Dearborn.

³ "Into Chaudear pond" is interlined, apparently by Captain Dearborn.

to think of entering such a place as QUEBEC, But being now almost out of Provisions we were Sure to die if we attempted to Return Back.—and We Could be in no Worse Situation if we proceeded on our rout—Our men made a General Prayer, that Colo: Enos and all his men, might die by the way, or meet with some disaster, Equal to the Cowardly dastardly and unfriendly Spirit they discover'd in returning Back without orders, in such a manner as they had done, And then we proceeded forward.

28 Very early in the morning my Company marched one Mr. Avres, the Capt of our Pioneers a Gree'd to go with me in the Canoe. We took it on our Backs, and Car'y'd it a Cross the Carrying place, to a Small Stream, which led into Shodeer Pond, we put our Canoe in, Went down the Stream, my men marched down by Land - When we Came to the Pond, I found Capt Goodrich's Company, who Could not proceed by reason of finding a River which leads into the Pond, which they Could find no way to Cross, my Company Came up and had thoughts of Building a raft - I told them I would go with my Canoe, and See if I could not find some place to Cross the River, going into the Pond and round an Island, where Cap' Goodrich was with Some of his Men who had Waded on, He informed me that he had made a thorough Search, and that there was no way to pass the River without Boats, the Land round here was all a Sunken Swamp for a Great distance, Capt Goodrich, informed me also, that one of his Sergeants and another man, who were not well, had gone forward with a Batteau, and he did not doubt but I could find it not far off it now Began to be Dark. We discover'd a Light on Shore which Seem'd to be 3 Miles from us, Capt Goodrich was almost perished with the Cold, having Waded Several Miles Backwards, and forwards, Sometimes to his Arm-pits in Water & Ice, endeavouring to find some place to Cross this River, I took him into my Canoe, and Carryed him over, and When we arrived where we Discover'd the Light, we found a good Bark-House with one man in it who was Left by our advanced Party for want of Provision to join his Company, We warmed ourselves but not finding Cap! Goodrich's Batteau here, we Sent my Canoe farther on to find it, if Possible, after being gone an Hour and a half, they return'd but had not found the Batteau, Capt Goodrich and I were very uneasy all Night a Bout our men.

29 As Soon as it was Light we went to our Men and Began to Carry them over in my Canoe, But Lucky for us Cap^t Smith's Batteau arrived which we hired to Carry our Men over, But after we had got them over this river, we had not marched above 50 Rod before we Came to Another River, Geting a Cross these Two rivers took up the Chief of the day, Before Sun Set we all arrived at the Bark-House Safe, where I slept last Night, But the men were very much fatigued here we encampt.

30 We Marched very early in the Morning, our Provisions [torn]

to be very Scant, Some Companies had but one pint of Flour for Each Man and no Meat at all, M. Ayres and I went down the Pond, in our Canoe, this Pond is 13 Miles Long, at the Lower end of the Pond, I met my Company where we found the Mouth of Shodeer River, Which Looked very wild, Here I Choose to walk by Land, and accordingly did a Bout Eight Miles, I was at this time very unwell, we encamp'd near a fall, where all the Boats that had attempted to Come down had overset except Colo, Arnolds, and mine, The Number of Boats that was overset here was Ten, one man was Drown'd, and a great Quantity of Baggage and Guns were lost.

31 We Started very early this morning, I am Still more unwell, than I was yesterday, We Carry'd our Canoe over a Carrying place of a Bout Half a mile, and put it into the River, the Same is very Rapid, Shole and Rocky, We pass'd another Carrying place to-day, we went down about 28 miles, then went on shore and Enca'p'd, I saw Some of the men on foot to-night who I find are almost famished for want of Provisions.

Nov...1 This meruing we new Pitched our Canoe she being Somewhat Leaky, we have run several times on the Rocks going down falls, where I expected to have Stove her to pieces, we put her in and proceeded down the river, which Remains very rapid, and a Bounding in falls, we got down a Bout 30 Miles, by which time our Canoe got to be worn out, we went on shore and Encamp'd, Here I saw Some of the foot-men who were almost Starved, This day Capt Goodrich's Company Kill'd my Dog, and another dog, and Eat them, I remain very unwell.

2 M. Ayres my Shipmate, Said he would Try to go down a Little further, in the Canoe and Carry our Baggage, I concludd to march by Land, I set out and marched about four miles and met some Frenchmen with 5 oxen & Two Horses going to meet our People, although, I wanted no Provision myself, yet knowing, how the Poor men were suffering for want & 1 seeing we were like, to Come to some Inhabitants, it Caust the Tears to Start from my Eyes, before I was apprized, I proceeded about four miles farther, and Came to a Large fall, where we found a good Canoe, Here was a Carrying place one Mile long, We Carryed a Cross the Carrying place, and put in. below the falls, where we found Two Indians with Some Provisions for our men, they left their Provision with some of our men, and went down with us, I got into their Canoe, and one of them into our's, the river being very rapid, & Shoal, we found it very difficult to pass. — we run down about eight miles, and to our Great Joy Espy'd a House, where we arrived at 4.. O. Clock P. M: at 5 ... O. Clock Lieut Hutchins, Ensign. Thomas and 50 of my men arriv'd, with Cap! Smith's Company which were the

^{1 &}quot;&" is inserted by Captain Dearborn.

first Company that arrived, Here, Colo—3 ¹ Arnold had Provided provisions for us against we arriv; We Stay'd here one night, this morning our men proceed'd down the River, tho, in poor Circumstances, for Travelling, a Great Number of them being Barefoot, and the Weather Cold and Snowy, many of our men died within the last three days,² from here to Quebec, is Seventy miles, I hir'd an Indian to Carry me down the River 6 miles to where Colo: Arnold was, where I found 22 Indians who Engaged with Colo: Arnold for 40 / A month, here I Stay'd all night, By Colo: Arnolds advice being Snowy, I took a Puke this night which did not operate much.

- 4 The Weather Snowy I Stay'd here to-day, Major Biggellow, Doctor Senter, and some others stay'd here Likewise all night.
- 5 The Weather is very Clear and pleasant for this season of the year, Major Biggaloe, and I hir'd each of us a Horse to go down the River 6 miles, and Came to a Tavern, where we had Provisions Served out for the Men, the Country here is Tolerable good Land, and Considerably Settled on Both sides of the River, the People are very Ignorant, but ³ seem to be very kind to us, at evening Charles Hilton, and Charles Burget, a French Lad, Inlisted, at Fort Western, who was a native of Canady, Came back for me with Two Horses, we Stay'd here all night.
- 6 I hir'd an Indian to Carry me down the River, 9 Miles, to one Sonsosees, a French-mans, one of Charles Burgets relations, where I hir'd Lodgings and took my Bed Immediately, I was this time in a High fever. I kept the Two Charles' to take Care of me I will now with my Pen follow our Main Body, they have now proceeded as far as S: Mary's the middle Parish of what is Commonly Call'd Sattagan, here is a very good Church, and a pleasant Country our people are Supply'd with provisions at Several places By the way, but being in Great Hurry, and having but Little time to provide, necessaries, our men were but Very poorly supply'd in General, the Inhabitants appears to be very kind, but ask a very Great price for their Victuals.
- 7 Our Troops ⁴ Proceeded as fast as possible, they ⁵ followed the river Shodear down from the first Inhabitants about 36 miles, and then Turn'd to the Eastward, and left the river, had to pass thro, a wood 15 Miles where there is no Inhabitants, and at this time of the year it is Terrible Travelling, by reason of its being Low Swampy land, our people Carry'd Twenty Birch Canoes a Cross these woods, in order to Cross the River S! Laurence in. as we Suppos'd the Boats near

¹ The date "3" stands in the margin before the word "Arnold."

² The last ten words are interlined by Captain Dearborn.

^{3 &}quot;But" is interlined by Captain Dearborn.

^{4 &}quot;Troops" is interlined by Captain Dearborn.

^{5 &}quot;We" is erased and "they" inserted by Captain Dearborn.

Quebec, would be in the Hands of our Enemies after we had got thro, these Woods, we arrived at S! Henry's, a Considerable Parish with a Church, we pass'd several other Small parishes, before we arrived at Point, Levi, where the main Body of our Detachment, arrived the 9th Day of November. But so fatigued, that they were very unfit for action, a Considerable number of our men are left on the road Sick or worn out with fatigue & hunger.

On our arrival we found Two Men of war Lying in the river Between Point-Levi, and Quebec, and Guard Boats passing all night, up and Down the River.

Our men lay at Point Levi, nothing extraordinary happen'd except that a Deserter from Quebec Came to us who Inform'd 12 as that Colo: McLane had arrived from Sorrell, with his Reginent. and our men made A prisoner of a young Man, by the Name of McKensey, Midshipman of the Hunter Sloop War—On the evening of the 13th Our men Embarked on Board 35 Canoes, and by four of the Clock, in the morning we had Landed all our men that were fit for duty which was about 500... at Woolfs Cove, entirely undiscover'd, altho, we pass'd Between Two Men of War, who had Guard Boats Cruising all Night, after Parading our men, and sending a Reconitring party towards the City, and placing Some Small Guards, we marched a Cross the plains of Abraham, and took possession of a Large-House formerly own'd by General Murray, Now by Mgr Codlwell, and some Houses adjacent which made fine quarters.²

14 After reconitring, proper Guards being placed to Cut off all Communication from Between the Town and Country, at 12...O... Clock the Enemy surprized one of our Centinels, and made him Prisoner, soon after our Main Body, Turn'd out and march'd within Half a mile of the Walls on the Height of Abraham, Immediately after being full in the'r view, we gave them Three Huzza's, but they did not Cluse to Come out to meet us, this afternoon, the Enemy set fire to Several Houses in the Suburbs, at Sun set Colo: Arnold sent a Flag to Town Demanding the Possession of the Garrison in the Name, and in behalf of the united American Colonies, But the Flag being fired upon was obliged to Return. We lay Constantly upon our Arms to prevent a Surprize. We are by a Gentleman from Quebec inform'd, that we may expect an attack very soon from the Garrison.

15 Colo: Arnold sent a flag to Demand the Town again this morning, thinking the Flag's being fir'd upon Yesterday was done thro. mistake, but was Treated in the Same manner, as yesterday, This morning an express was sent off to General Montgomery, at 12...

¹ The last eight words are added by Captain Dearborn.

² The words "for our men" are erased by a different pen.

O Clock we were alarmed by a report that the Troops in the — Garrison Were Coming out to attack us, we Turn'd out to meet them, but it Proved to be a false report.

16 This Morning it is reported that Montreal surrendred to Gen¹ Montgomery last Sabbath, and that he had taken a Number of the enemys Ships, One of our Rifle Serg¹s was kill'd to day by a Cannon shot from the Town, we sent a Company of men To,day to take possession of the General Hospital, which is a very large Pile of Building a Bout three Quarters of a mile from the Walls of Qebec, in this Building is a Nunnery of the first order in Canada, where at present there are a Bout Thirty fine nuns — The Canadians are Constantly Coming to us, and are expressing the Greatest satisfaction at our Coming into the Country.

17 A Soldier Came to us from Quebec, But brings no Extraordinary Intelligence, a Party of our men are gone over the River, to Bring over some of our men, who were not Come over before, also to bring some provisions, — The Weather is very pleasant for this Country, and the Season.

- 18 Nothing Extraordinary To,day, the evening orders that are given is to Parade To-morrow Morning at 3 of the Clock.
- 19.. Very early this morning we Decamp'd, and March'd up to Point Aux-Tremble, a Bout Seven Leagues from Quebec, the Country thro, which we marched is thick settled and pleasant, there are a Number of Handsome Chapels by the way, we find the people very kind to us.
- 20... An Express arrived this morning from Gen! Montgomery, The Contents of which is that he's in full possession of Montreal, also of the shipping that are there, and that he intends to join us very Soon... We have sent an Express to Montreal To-day.
 - 21 The Curate of the Parish Dines at Head-quarters To-day.
- 22 An Express arrived this day from Montreal, which informs that Gen! Montgomery's Army had taken 13 Vessels with a Large Quantity of Cloathing and provisions and that the General was a Bout Marching for Quebec.
- 23 . . . This Morning an express arrived from Montreal which Inform, that Gen! Montgomery is on his March for this place, And that he has sent Cloathing forw of for our Men.
- 24 This Morning the Hunter Sloop of War, and three other Arm'd vessels appear'd in sight; An express is sent from us to meet the Troops from Montreal.
- 25 The Hunter Sloop, a Large Snow, and an Arm'd Schooner Came to an Anchor Opposite our Quarters this Morning. Some of our men were sent up the River in a boat to meet the Troops which were Coming down from Montreal.
 - 26 A Number of Gentlemen Came in this morning from Quebec.

- 27 We are inform'd that the House belonging formerly to Maj' Coldwell, in which our Troops were Quarter'd before Quebec, is Burnt' down.
- 28 Colo: Arnold is gone up to Jackerty, about 12 Miles above Point Aux-Tremble, to hasten down the Ammunition.
- 29 . . Cap! Morgan who had been sent down Near Quebec, sent up Two Prisoners which he took in the Suburbs.
- 30 Cap! Duggan, has arrived from Montreal with Provis'ens and Ammunition.
- Dee! 1 Gen! Montgomery, arriv'd this day at 10..0 Clock with Three Arm'd Schooners, with men, Artillery, Ammunition, Provision & Cloathing, to the Great Joy of our Men, Towards evening our Detachment turn'd out & march'd to the Gen!s Quarters, where we were Recd by the General, who Complimented us on the Goodness of our appearance.
- 2 This morning our field Artillery was sent down by Land and our Large Cannon by Water Near Quebec.—the Boats when they had Landed the Cannon were to go to Point Levi for the Ladders.
- 3 Our men are drawing Cloathing this day, the General has made a present of a Suit of Cloaths to all our Detachment which they were in great need of.
- 4 At 12-O Clock we marched for St Foys before Quebec, We March'd as far as Augustine, where we Tarry'd all Night.
- 5 In the Morning we proceeded on our March and about noon arrived at S^t Foys—my Company were order'd into the General Hospital for quarters.
- 6 Nothing extraordinary or remarkable to-day, the weather is attended with Snow Squalls.
- 7 We are inform'd that a Company of our took a sloop with Provisions and Some quantity of Cash, not far from the Island of Orlean's.
- 8 We receiv'd Some shot from the enemy to-day but no person Injur'd thereby.
- 9 Now I will give Some account of Matters respecting myself I Still remain sick at Sattagan at the House which I heretofore mention'd taking up Lodging at, from the 6th Day of November to the 28th before I went out of the House, the first Ten days I had a Violent Fever, and was Delirious the Chief of the time, I had nothing to assist 1 Nature with, but a Tea of Piggen plumb Roots, and Spruce, as there are no Doctors in these parts nor any Garden Herbs, my fever abated in some Degree, but did not leave me, I had a violent Cough, and lost my flesh to that Degree, that I was almost Reduced to a perfect Skeleton, and so very Weak that when I first began to set up for Several days, I could not go from the bed to the fire with a Staff without being

^{1 &}quot;Assist," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, takes the place of a word erased.

held up. I heard that our people had got Possession of Quebec, and as I could not perceive that I gain'd any Strength, and my fever remain'd upon me very high, at this time I concluded to send Charles Burget. my french Lad to Quebec, to see if he could procure me something from an Apothecary to help my Cough and to assist 1 nature, in Carrying off my fever, he went and in four days return'd, but to my great mortification Brought nothing for me but bad News, which was, that our people had not got Possession of Quebec, but had March'd from Quebec up the River, towards Montreal, hearing this, Struck a damp upon my Spirits which reduced them something Low, But through the kind hand of Providence, I amend'd tho, very Slowly, the first day of December I rode out in a Carry'al with my Landlard, and found myself much The better for it, tho, I was so weak now that I Could not walk from the Carriall into the House without help, I now began to be very uneasy and wanted to be with the Army and the Seventh day I set out in a Carriall to Quebec, and the 9th day I Cross'd the River St Laurence, I join'd my Company who Seem'd very Glad to see me, they told me that they had been inform'd by one of our men that Came not many days since from Sattagan that I was Dead, and that he saw Charles Hilton, and Charles Burget making a Coffin for me.

I will now return to Matters respecting our Army, We had a body of men that began to build a battery Last night on the height of Abraham about half a mile from S^t Johns Gate, and we had five small mortars order'd into S^t Roach's near the Walls of Quebec, to Heave Shells into the City To-Night the Artillery are to be Cover'd with 100 Men, they Threw about 30 Shells this Night.

- 10 The enemy began a heavy Cannonade upon our Camp this morning and Continued it all day, our people hove shells this Night from S! Rock's, & a party was to work on the Battery The enemy return'd a few Shells to us last Night & Some Cannon Balls, but no person received any hurt except an old Canadian Woman who was shot thro: the Body with a 24th Shot.
- 11 This morning one of our men lost his way in the Storm and had got under the Walls and was fir'd upon by the Centinel before he knew where he was, and had received a Shott through the thigh, but got away and is in a fair way to recover. The enemy has kept up a faint Cannonading all this day, this night our Train of Artillery Threw 45 Shells into the Town, and had a party to work on the Battery, the Enemy hove a few shot and Some shells at our people who were to work on the Battery, but did no damage, the Weather now is Exceeding Cold.
- 12 The Platforms are almost ready for the Guns at the Battery, the Weather Still remains very Cold.

^{1 &}quot;Assist," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, takes the place of a word erased.

- 13...14 We hove open our Battery, have several men kill'd & wound⁴ This morning before sun rise, our Battery, Began to Play upon the Town, we had 5...12 Pounders and a Howeteer Mounted, all very well attended, there was a very heavy fire from the Town upon our Battery after our Battery had play'd one hour they Ceas'd and General Montgomery sent a flag to the Town but it was refus'd admittance, But after some discourse with some officiers upon the Rampart return⁴, at 2...O Clock P: M: our Battery began to play, again and our Mortars at the same time were at work in S' Rock's, we hove 50. Shells into the Town to-day, there was a very heavy Cannonading kept up from the Town, we had Two men kill'd To-day at our Battery, and one of our Guns damaged and our Howeteers dismounted, it is now in agitation to Storm the Town, which if resolved upon I hope will be undertaken, with a proper sense of the nature and Importance of such an attack and vigorously Executed.
- 16 In the evening began to Cannonade, Colo: Arnold's quarters were Struck by Several Cannon shot, upon which he thought it best to remove to other quarters, one of our men was Shot through the body with a grape shot—to-day his life is dispair'd of, a Counsel was held this evening by all the Commission'd officiers belonging to Colo: Arnolds detachment.—A majority of which was for Storming the Garrison of Quebec as soon as the men are well equip'd with good arms, Spears, hatchets, Hand, granades &c.
- 17 Nothing extraordina'y or remarkable, to-day the weather is very Cold and Snowy.
- 18 Nothing extraordinary to-day the weather Still remains very Cold, my Company are order'd ont of the Hospital, the room is wanted for a Hospital for the use of the sick, we took our quarters on the opposite side of the River S! Charles, at one M! Henry's, a presbyterian minister which place is about one mile from the Hospital.
 - 19 I began to recover my Strength again & have a fine appetite.
- 20 The weather Continues Still Cold, preparation is making for the intended Storm, several of our men have the small Pox.
- 21 We are order'd every man of us to wear a hemblock sprig in his Hat, to distinguish us from the enemy in the attack upon Quebeck.
- 22 Matters seem ripening fast for a storm, may the blessing of Heaven attend the enterprize.
- 23 This evening all the officiers of our detachment met at and are visited by the Gen¹ at Colo: Arnolds Quarters.
- 24 This evening the Rev⁴ M. Spring preach'd a sermon in the Chapel in the Gen¹ Hospital, which is exceeding elegant inside, is Richly decorated with Carved and guilt work.
- 25 Colo: Arnolds detachment is Paraded at 4 Clock P: M: Gen! Montgomery attended and address'd us on the Subject of making the

attack upon the Walls of Quebec, in a very sensible Spirit'd manner which greatly animated 1 our men.

26 Nothing Material happen'd to day the weather is Still cold.

27 This morning the Troops assembled by order of the General, with a design to attack the Town of Quebec, and were about to march, when there Came an order from the Gen! to return to our quarters by reason of the weather's clearing up which render'd it improper for the attack.

28 The following Came out in Gen! orders this day — Vizt

The Gen! had the most Sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the Troops last night moved to the attack, it was with the greatest reluctance he found himself Call'd upon by his duty to repress their ardor, but should hold himself answerable for the loss of those brave men whose lives might be Saved by waiting for a favourable opportunity.

29 . . . Nothing remarkable or extraordinary to-day.

30 I have the Main-guard in S! Rock's, I came on last evening our Artillery hove 30 Shells last night into Quebeck, which were answer'd by a few shells and Some Grape shott, early this morning the Garrison began a very heavy Cannonade upon all parts of our Camp within their Reach, Particularly on those quarter'd in S! Rock's, and upon the Guard-House which is within musquet ² Shott of the Walls, but partly under the Cover of a hill — about sun'set this afternoon, the the Garrison brought a gun to bear upon the Guard-house much more exact, and better level'd, than any that they shott heretofore, and within the Space of 15 minutes they knocked down the three Chimneys of the Guardhouse over our heads, but could not get a shot into the lower Rooms where the Guard kept, at 10.. O Clock this evening I went home to my quarters.

31 This morning at 4...O Clock I was inform'd by one of my men that there was orders from the Gen! for making the attack upon Quebec this morning, I was surprized that I had not been inform'd or notified Sooner, But afterwards found it was owing to the neglect of the Serg! Major, who excus'd himself by saying he could not get across the River, by reason of the Tides being so exceeding High, however I gave orders to my men to prepare themselves immediately to march, but my Company being quarter'd in three different Houses, and the farthest a mile from my Quarters, and the weather very Stormy and the Snow deep, it was near an hour before I could get them all Paraded & Ready to March, at which time I found the attack was began by the Gen! party, near Cape Diamond, I had now two miles to march, before we Came to the place where the attack was made, The moment I march'd

¹ Two words are erased.

² "Musquet" is interlined in a different hand.

I met the Serg! Major who inform'd me that Colo: Arnold, had march'd, and that he cou'd not Convey intelligence to me Sooner, as there was no possibility of Crossing the River, we now march'd or rather ran as fast as we could, when I arrived at S! Rock's I met Colo: Arnold Wounded Borne, and brought away by Two men, he Spoke to me and desir'd me to push on forward, and said our people had possession of a 4 Gun Battery. — and that we should Carry the Town, our Artillery were Incessantly heaving Shells, with 5 Mortars from S! Rock's, and the Garrison were heaving shells and Balls of all Sorts from every part of the Town, my men Seem'd to be in high Spirits, we push'd forward as fast as possible, we met the wounded men very thick.

We Soon found ourselves under a very brisk 1 fire from the walls & Picketts, but it being very dark & Stormy, and the way we had to pass very Intricate & I an utter Stranger, to the way, we got bewilder'd, an altho, I met Several men, and Some officiers who said they knew where our people were, yet none of them would pilot us untill I met one of Colo: Arnolds Waiters who was endeavouring to forward some ladders who said he would shew me the way, and altho, he was well acquainted with the way, he having lived some years in Quebec, he miss'd it and Carry'd us quite wrong, but when he found his mistake he declared he did not know, where we were, and he immediately left us, we were all this time harrass'd with a brisk fire from the Picketts, which we were Sometimes within a stones throw of, I now thought it best to retreat a little and then make a new attempt to find the way, I accordingly order'd Lieut Hutchins who was in the Rear to retreat, to a Certain place a few rods back, he Accordingly retreated, and in retreating he had to pass very near the Picket, under a very brisk fire, it now began to grow a little light, the Garrison had discover'd us and Sent out Two hundred men, who took possession of Some houses which we had to pass before we could discover them, and as Lieut Hutchins retreated they Sallied down in a lane from the Wall, I divided my Company about the middle, I 2 now again attempts to find the way to the main body, It being now so light that I thought I could find the way, I order'd that part of my men that were with me, to follow me, we pushed on as fast as possible, but the enemy took some of my rear, and kept a brisk fire upon us from the Houses, which we had pass'd, when I Came to a place where I could Cover my men a little, while I could discover where our main body was, I heard a shout in Town, which made me think that our people had got possession of the Same, the men were so thick within the Picketts, I was at a Stand to know whether They were our men, or the enemy, as they were dress'd like us, I was Just about to Hail them, when one of them hail'd me, he asked who I was (I was

^{1 &}quot;Brisk" is interlined in a different hand.

² "And" is erased, and "I" inserted.

now within Six rods of the Picketts) I answer'd a friend, he asked me who I was a friend to, I answer'd to liberty, he then reply'd God-damn you, and then rais'd himself partly above the Pickets, I Clant up my Piece which was Charged with a ball and Ten Buck shott Certainly to give him his due, But to my great mortification my Gun did not go off, I new prim'd her, and flushed and Try'd her again, but neither I, nor one in Ten of my men could get off our Guns they being so exceeding wet, They fired very briskly upon us from the Picketts, here we found a great number of wounded men, and some dead, which did belong to our main body; I order'd my men to go into a lower room of an house, and new Prime their Guns, and prick dry Powder into the Touchholes, we Now found ourselves Surrounded by Six to one, I now finding no possibility of getting away, my Company were divided, and our arms being in such bad order, I thought it best to Surrender after being promis'd good quarters and Tender usnage, I told my men, to make their escape, as many as possibly could, and in the Confusion a considerable Number did effect the Same, Some of them after they had given up their arms, we were now marched to Palace Gate, on my way there to my Surprize, I found Lieut Hutchins, Ensign Thomas, & about 15 or 20 of my 1 men under Guard, who were march'd to Palace-gate with me, we were Carried to a Large Convent and put under the Care of a strong Guard, on my way to this House I was inform'd that our people had 2 got possession of the Lower Town.

It appears at this time, according to the following Arrangement, that my Comp'y which may be seen hereafter, in the ³ attack upon the Town was intended to be the second to the front.³

The Gen! gave orders last evening for the Troops to assemble at Two O: Clock this morning in order to Make the attack, at 5..O.. Clock in the following manner viz!

The Gen! with the first .. 2.. & 3.. Battalians of New-york Troops was to attack the Southerly part of the Lower Town, at a place Call'd the Pot-ash.

Colo: Arnold with his detachment and part of Cap! Lambs Company of Artillery, with one Field-piece, was to march through S! Rock's down between the river Saint Charles, and the Picket of the Garrison to the North part of the Lower Town Call'd the South-ax-Matillo, and there attack a 4 Gun Barrier in the following order, a Subaltern with 24 Men was to be an advanced party, Cap! Lambs Artillery next with a six pounder mounted on a Sled, then the main-body, Cap! Morgan first. my Company next, Then Cap! Smith's, then Captain Hanchet's, then Cap! Hubbard's, Then Cap! Topham's, then Cap! Thayer, then Cap!

^{1 &}quot;Of my" is interlined. 2 "Had" is interlined.

³ "In the" and "to be the second to the front" are interlined. Several lines are erased.

The name "Thompson" is erased.

Ward's, then Cap! Goodrich's, & then Cap! Hendrick's, Colo: Arnold in the Front Colo: Green and Maj! Biggellow in the Centre, and Maj! Meigs in the Rear.

Colo: Levingston, & Maj! Brown with some of Maj! Browns men & some Canadians were to make a feint upon the upper Town & at the Same time, were to Set fire to S! John's Gate with a Certain quantity of Combustibles prepar'd for that — purpose — The Gen! with his Party began the attack, the Gen! with his Aid-de-camp, and Cap! Shearman & the Carpenters, who served as Pioneers advanced in the front, The Carpenters Cut the Picketts, the Gen! with his own hands pull'd them down & enter'd. — after the Gen! had enter'd, he Call'd to his men to Come on, they did not advance as quick as he thought they might, he Spoke to them again in the following moving Terms, saying come on my good soldiers, your Gen! Calls upon you to Come on, The Gen! was now very near a Battery of Several Cannon Loaded with grape shott, some of which were unfortunately discharged, and which Cut down our Brave Gen!, his Aid-decamp, Cap! M'Ferson, Cap! Shearman, & three or four Privates.

The Guards immediately after firing the first Cannon quited their post and Ran, which gave our Troops a fair opportunity to enter, But instead of entering Colonel Campbell, who now took Command, order'd a retreat, which was a very unlucky retreat for us, - A few minutes after the Gen! made the attack on his part, Col: Arnold made an attack with his party, but instead of making the attack in the manner proposed, which was, when the advanced party had got within musket shot of the Barrier, they were to Halt and then open to the right and left, and the Artillery to fire three shott, upon the Barrier and then the advanced party were to fire into the Port Holes, Cap! Morgan's Company to pass round a wharf on which the Barrier was Built, and Come in upon the back of the Guard, while we Scall'd the Barrier with Ladders, but the Snow being so deep and the way so difficult to pass — The Artillery were obliged to leave the Field piece behind, & Colo: Arnold, with the advanced party rushed up to the Barrier and kept such a hot fire in at the Port-holes, that the enemy Could fire but one of their Cannon, before Capt Morgan and some of his Company, and some others Scaled the Barrier, and took the Guards Prisoners Consisting of a Capt & 30 men, Colo: Arnold was wounded in the Legg in the first of the attack and was Carried Back, our men enter'd the Barrier as fast as possible. - But the Main body had not come up yet by reason of missing their way, and were obliged to Counter-march twice before they could get right, there was now a second Barrier to force, where there two Cannon placed, Charged with Grape'shott, our men who had enter'd the first Barrier, were now waiting for the main-body to come up, but before the main-body had got into the first Barrier, the enemy found that

the Gen! Party had retreated, and the whole Garrison had Turn'd their attention upon our party, and had taken possession of the Houses almost all round us, and had mann'd the Barrier so strong that when our people made an attempt to force it, we were repulsed, and obliged to shelter ourselves in the Houses, as well as we could, I sav, we altho, I was not at this place, but in order to distinguish our Troops from the Enemy. our people being Surround'd By Treble their Number, and was under a very hot fire, it was now Motion'd by some, whether or no, it would not be most advisable to retreat, others immediately repli'd who knows but 1 our Gen! 1 with his party, is in some part of the Town, and if we go, and leave him behind, he and his party will most certainly be Cut off, It was then concluded upon to send somebody off in order to learn what was become of our Gen! and his party, and agreed to make a stand while night, Immediately after entering the Barrier, Capt Hendrick, Lieut Humphrey's, and Lieut Cooper, together with a number of Privates was kill'd Just as this resolution took place, the same party that took me followed after our main-body, and Came upon their Rear, but our people finding the impracticability of a retreat, and hearing nothing from our Gen's party. & having lost about one hundred men out of less than five hundred, it was 2 thought it most prudent to surrender, upon the encouragement of being promis'd good quarters and Tender usage, It was by this time 10: O Clock A: M:... The officiers were Carried to the main Guard house and the Soldiers to the House where I was Carried first, I with my other officiers, were Carry'd to the main, guard-House to the other offic'ers, where we had a good Dinner, and a plenty of several sorts of wine, in the afternoon we were Carry'd to a Large Seminary, and put into a large room in the fourth Story from the ground.

A List of the officiers that were killed.

Brigad! Gen! Montgomery											
M' John M' pherson Aid-decamp to the Gen!											
Cap ^t Cheasman .											of New-york
Cap ^t W ^m Hendrick											of Pensilvania
Lieut Humphry .											of Virginia
Lieut Samt Cooper											of Connecticut

A list of the wounded officiers that was in the engage

^{1 &}quot;But" is interlined. "Better than" and "who" are erased.

^{2 &}quot;It was" is interlined in place of "we," erased.

Lieu! Jam! Tindal of the Massachusetts Bay shot thro. his right, shoulder

The Sergeants, Corporals, and privates, kill'd & wounded according to the best accounts I could obtain, Amounted to a bout one Hundred men, the number kill'd on the Spot, about 40

A list of the officiers taken, but not wounded Provinces. Towns Capt Daniel Morgan Lient William Heath Frederick Lieu! Peter Brewin Virginia County Mr John McGuyer Volunteer M. Char. Porterfield . . do . . Lieut Archibold Steel . . . Lancaster Lieut Francis Nichols Carlisle Pensilvania Mr Mathew Duncan Volunteer Philadelphia 4 8 1 M. John Henry Volunteer Lancaster Lieut Andrew Moody New-vork Maj! Return Jona. Meigs Middletown Suffield Cap! Oliver Hanchet.— Capt Sam! Lockwood Hamford Connecticut Lieut Abijah Savage Middletown Capt Aliezer Aswald Vol: New-Haven Quar: Mast Ben: Catlin Weathersfield Greenwich L! Colo. Christopher Green Newport Capt John Topham Rhode-Island Cap! Sam! Ward We sterlyCapt Simeon Thayer Providence Lieu! James Webb ${f Newport}$ Lieu! William Humphrys Providence Rhode Island Lient Edwd Slocam Tivertown Lieut Silvanus Shaw New-port Worchester Maj! Timothy Bigellow Capt W. Goodrich Stockbridge Lieu! Sam : Brown Acton Massachusets Bay Lieut John Cumston Sacho Lieut John Clark Hadley Nottingham Capt Henry Dearborn Lieu^t Nathan¹ Hutchins Dunbarton Hampshire Lieut Ammi Andrews Hilsborough Lieut Joseph Thomas Deerfield

Adjut Christian Febeger) The Number of Sergt Corport & Privates a Deanish officier Taken, but not wounded, are about 300

1776 January 1 I begun this year in very disagreeable Circumstances, it being the first day I ever Spent in Confinement except by

sickness, but I hope I shall be enabled to bare it with a becoming fortitude. Considering it to be the fortune of War.

- 2 Gen! Montgomery's body was taken up to day, and brought into Town.
- 3 Gen! Carlton gave Major Meigs Leave to go out after our Baggage to-day.

As the Small pox is prevalent in this Town, it is thought best for as many of us, as had not had the Small Pox to be Innoculated immediately... Accordingly sixteen of us Concluded to apply to some Physician to innoculate us, Doct' Bullen was recommended to us as being skilful in Innoculation, whom we apply'd to, to day, & he engagd to Innoculate us, and gave us some preparatory Medicines to day.

- 4... We were this day Innoculated, ... Gen! Montgomery's body Was Interr! to-day, in a very decent manner by order of Gen! Carlton.
- 5 We that have been innoculated, are removed to-day into another Room, & have the liberty of walking into another room adjoining to that we Lodge in.
- 6... Maj. Meigs return'd to-day, with some part of our Baggage but a Considerable part of it is not Brought in. four of our men are tolerated to wait upon us.
- 7... We purchas'd some poor mutton to make Soop of at one Pistereen P pound.
- 8 We had a very good Collection of Books sent us by several friends in Town, in the perusal of which, we pass many of of our dull hours.
- 9 To,day I wrote a letter to send to my wife, but find no opportunity of sending it.
- 10 This day M^r Levius, who was formerly a Judge of our Court, came to see me, and offer'd to supply me with any thing I stood in need of, that was in his power, he furnish'd me with some Cash, and Two shirts, and said he would have me let him know, if I should hereafter be in want of any thing, as he would be ready to oblige me therewith if within the Sphere of his Influence.
- 11...12...13 Nothing extraordinary. The Field officier of each day, Generally visits us, the Guard that is set over us, is a subaltern and Twelve men Our mens Baggage is sent for to-day.

also I begin to feel the simptoms of the small Pox.

Lieut Savage, who was one that was Innoculated with me, for the Small pox, has it the natural way, he having taken it before he Came into Quebec, & is very bad.

- 14 I begin to break out with the Small Pox.
- 15...16...17...18:19 Nothing extraordinary the Small Pox is Turning, the greatest of my suffering is hunger since I was Innoculated, one of our Waiters who was Innoculated after he Came to wait upon us has.

had it the Natural way, he having had it before and broke out with it in two days, after he was Innoculated. - and is dead, Lieut Savage is getting better, Nothing very extraordinary happens from this time to the 10th of February -- when Major Meigs is Carried to the Hotteldieu - which is a nunnery &c Hospital, he having a swelling under his arm, and the remainder of us who have had the small pox are removed into the room which we were first put into with the other officiers, we spend our time in reading in the forenoon, and at Cards in the afternoon, and endeavour to make ourselves as happy as possible under our present disagreeable Circumstances, We hear a great deal of bad News, but none that's good - We are told that General Washington, with his army made an attempt to Storm Boston, but had lost 4000 men, some kill'd and the rest were drown'd, we have been inform'd of Montreal's being retaken by the Canadians four or five times - We are told that Gen Lee, in marching to New york with 3000 men lost them all to 300, by dissertion for want of Cloathing.

We are inform'd that Gen! Amherst is arrived at New-york with 12000 Troops, we are likewise told that the paper Currency has lost its value, and that the Congress is impeached with dishonesty by the people, but we give no Credit to any such Rumours.

March 10 We had a square of Glass put into the door that opens into our room, and two Centinels stands looking in all the time, and a lamp is kept burning all night—in our room, and Two Centinels stands under our window who are order'd to fire upon any of us who attempted to to open either of the windows in the night, no person is allowed to come into our room but the Field offic! of the day, and the officier of the Guard—not even our washer-woman.

16 Being indispos'd I got liberty to go to the Hottel-dieu to day.

I remain'd at the Hottel-dieu, until the 31st day of March nothing very extraordinary happen'd during this time, I recoverd my health in a few days after I got here. I saw one of my men here who inform'd me that all my Company has had the Small Pox, and not one of them died with it, which I think is something remarkable, we are all, now order'd to the Seminary, we are told for want of wood in the Garrison.

April 1 We are informd that our men who are prisoners in this Town, were last night detected in the execution of a plan in order to make their Escape, for which reason, they are all put in Irons — We have two Small Bed-rooms allow'd us to sleep in being too: much Crouded in one room.

4 This day our people open'd a four Gun-Battery, at Point Levi and play'd upon the Town. — there was now a very heavy Cannonading from the Town, upon our Battery every day, there was six or seven Balls shot from our Battery into the Garden under our window, & three or 4 of them struck against the Seminary.

25 In the Course of this month there has been two or three alarms in Town, the Garrison thought that our people were about making an attack.

Cap! Thayer was detected by the officier of the guard to-day in attempting to open a door that led from the Passage to the necessary, into an upper loft, and was Carried on board a vessel and put in Irons there is Bolts & Locks put upon our doors and we are order'd not to go out of our respective Lodging Rooms after dark until sometime after sun-rise.

28 This day Colo: McLane, McLanedear the Gen! Aid-decamp and several other officiers, Came into our room & took Cap! Lockwood, & Cap! Hanchet and Carried them off, witho't saying any thing to them, but we heard since it was reported that they had Tamper'd with a Cintinel, they were likewise put in Irons on Board the Vessel where Cap! Thayer was—

29 Our people open'd a Two Gun Battery to-day upon the opposite side of the Town from Point Levi a Cross the river St Charles and play'd upon the Town, we are likewise inform'd that they are about opening another Battery on the height of Abraham, there is a Constant Cannonading on both sides every day.

May 4 As I was laying down my book this evening about Ten of the Clock, preparing for bed, I heard a Centinel hale a ship, which very much surprized me, as I expected some relief had arrived, But I soon was undeceived by a brisk fire of Cannon, and Small arms, & the ringing of the alarm Bell, as also hearing a great confusion in all parts of the Town, we now Concluded, that our people made an attack upon the Town, we soon discover'd a fire ship in the River, near the Lower Town, which was sent as we since heard, in order to set fire to the shi'ping in the Lower Town, & which must Consequently set fire to the Lower Town, & at the same time we heard Gen! Worster with his Troops had drawn up near the Town, with their Ladders ready to Scale the walls, when ever the Lower Town was on fire, but as the fireship fail'd the attack was not made.

6 This day forenoon, three ships arrived from England to the Great Joy of the Garrison, but much to our mortification as we now gave over all hopes of being retaken, and Consequently of seeing our families again until we had first taken a Voyage to England and there Tryed for rebels, as we have often been told by the officiers of the Garrison, that, that, would be the case.

The ships that have arrived Brought the 29th Regiment with them, who landed, and at 12...O Clock, this Regimt with 5... or 6 Hundred of the Garrison marched out of Town, and two of the Frigates which arrived to-day put up the River, and an arm'd Schooner. Towards Night, the Troops return'd back to Town, and said they drove all the Yankees off. — and took a large quantity of Cannon, ammunition, and Baggage

from the Americans, which indeed proved too True, But from the accounts we have had since from Lieuten! McDougle, who was taken in a schooner at Point Aux Tremble by the Two Frigates & an armed Schooner, that went up the River the day they arrived, we find that Gen! Woosters Troops began to decamp, the day before the Troops arrived, by hearing there was a Large Fleet in the river, but what Baggage they left was not very Considerable, there are more or less ships coming in daily, we are inform'd that there are 15000 Men destin'd for Canada, the 47 Regiment has arrived here from Boston, who bring Acc! that Gen! How, with his Troops has evacuated Boston & Came to Hallifax, pursuant to orders received from home.

10 A party marched out to day towards Montreal, we have Liberty to walk the Seminary Garden for our recreation today, which which is a very excellent Garden for Canada.

Majt Meigs has obtain'd Liberty of the Gen! to go home to New-Eng! on his Parole.

13 M! Levius Came to see me to-day, & informd me, that if I would endeavour to assist him, in getting his family to him from Portsmouth, he would use his influence wth the Gen! to get leave for me to go home with Maj' Meigs On Parole, but he told me I must not depend much upon going as he thought it very uncertain whether he should succeed or not, notwithstanding I depended much upon going, as I thought his influence with the Gen! would be great, he being one of the Counsel, Judge of the Admiralty, & Judge of the Superior Court at Montreal.

14 Major Meigs was sent for to wait upon the Gen! who inform'd him the Vessel would sail in a day or Two, in which he was to go to Hallifax, when the Major Came back. & I hearing nothing of M! Levius's obtaining leave for me to go home, I then began to dispair, and accordingly wrote a letter to my wife to send by the Major.

16 At one O Clock P: M: M! Levius Came to see me, & to my great Joy, inform'd me that the Gen! had given his Consent for me to go home, on Parole, & that we should sail this afternoon, — at 5: of the Clock the Town Major Came for Major Meigs & myself, to go to the Lieu! Governor, to give our Parole, the verbal agreement we made was, that if ever there was an exchange of Prisoners, we were to have the benefit of it, and until then we were not, to take up arms against the King, after giving our Paroles from under our hands, we were Carried before the Gen! who appear'd to be a very humane tender-hearted man, after wishing us a good Voyage, & Saying he hoped to give the remainder of our officiers the Same Liberty, he desir'd the Town Major to Conduct us on Board, we desir'd leave to visit our men in prison but could not obtain it.

after getting our baggage & taking leave of our fellow prisoners we went on board a schooner, which we are to go to Hallifax in, but as she

did not sail today, we were invited on Board the Admirals ship, where we were very genteely used, and Tarried all night.

- 17 We Sail'd this morning, 10..O.. Clock, we fell down to the lower end of the Island, of Orleans, the wind being a head we were obliged to Cast Anchor, at Two of the Clock P: M: we went on shore upon Orleans, bought some Fowl & eggs, Orleans is a very pleasant Island, but the Inhabitants are extremely Ignorant.
- 18 We weighed Anchor at 4 this morning, & had a fine breeze at 2 Clock we Struck on the Rocks off against the Isle of Caudre, which is eighteen Leagues from Quebec. we ware in great danger of staving to pieces. But Lucky for us we got off, here we Saw a great many white Porpuses which were very large We came to an Anchor this Night by Hare-Island, which is 36 Leagues from Quebec.
- 19 We hove up at 4 this morning, we have but very little wind the River here is 5 Leagues in Weadth, we fell down to the Isle of Beak, which is 50 Leagues from Quebec, where we found his Majesty's Ship Niger, which is a 32 Gun Frigate, and an arm'd schooner lying at Anchor, we Cast our Anchor here at sunset.
- 20 We weighed Anchor here this morning at 4.. we had a small Breeze & some rain, and a very large sea. at six a Clock we had both our Masts sprung, which were barely saved from going overboard, we made a signal of distress to the above mention'd Vessels, which we were in sight of. who gave us immediate relief, we put back to the ship as fast & well as we could, and after the Schooner was examin'd by the Carpenters, it was order'd back to Quebec. and we were put on Board the Niger, which was now going to sail, bound for Hallifax.—at 10.. O Clock this evening we met with Two Men of war and several Transports.
- 21 This morning we met 32 Transports with Troops on Board under Command of Gen! Burgoyne, said to be 6000 Troops in the whole on Board this Fleet.
- 22 We enter'd the Gulph of St Laurence this afternoon, at 5 in the afternoon we pass'd Bonaventura.
 - 23 at Twelve of the Clock we pass'd the Magdolen Islands.
- 24 This morning we made the Isle of S! Johns, this afternoon we made the Isle of Cape Briton.
- 25 at 2-Clock P: M: we enter'd the gut of Canso, pass'd half way through it, having no wind we Cast Anchor.
 - 26 Having no wind we Catched plenty of fish.
- 27 We have up this morning at 9 O Clock, & had a fresh breeze, at 12..O.. Clock we enter'd the Atlantick.
 - 28 This day we have a fair wind, but a very thick fogg.
 - 29 We made Land within 15 Leagues of Hallifax, the wind is Contrary.
- 30 This morning we enter'd the mouth of Hallifax, Harbour, as we pass'd up the Town has a very handsome appearance, at 12..O..

Clock we Came to Anchor, near the Town & at Two. We went on shore, the Land on which this Town is Built rises Gradually until it forms a beautiful eminence, Call'd the Citadel-Hill, the Town is handsomely laid out, the Building are but small, in general, at the upper end of the Town there is a very good Dock, yard, handsomely built with Stone and Lime, in which there are some handsome buildings, Major Meigs & I waited on his Excellency Gen! How this afternoon, with some dispatches from Gen! Carlton.

- June...1 Gen! Howe after some Conversation desir'd us to wait on him again, on Monday Next, & he promis'd us he would inform us when and how we should have a passage to New England, I visited some officiers, and others who were prisoners in Hallifax. Viz! Cap! Mortingdell, of Rhode, Island who was taken in a privateer, Lieu! Scott who was taken at Bunker Hill, the 17th of June last and a number of others amounting in the whole to 20.. persons this day we took Lodgings at one Riders Tavern.
- 2..3..4..5 We remainded on shore, untill 3..0.. Clock this afternoon, then we embark'd on Board his Majesties Ship Scarborough.
- 6 Lord Piercy din'd on board the Scarborough, at his Coming on Board he was saluted by 13 Guns from this ship, & the same number from several ships that lay near us, I went ashore to,day and found an opportunity of writing to my fellow prisoners in Quebec, which I gladly embraced.
 - 7..8..9 We Still remain here expecting every day to sail.
- 10 at 10..O. Clock this morning we sail'd, we had a fair brisk Breeze.
 - 11 Little wind to day.
 - 12 The wind is not fair, we are beating of Cape Sables.
 - 13 The wind is Contrary we are beating off.. do
- 14 This morning we enter'd the Bay Fundy, at 3..O.. Clock P: M: we pass'd Falmouth, a small Village I am inform'd 15..or 18..sail of Vessels own'd at six o.. Clock we were abreast of Long Island, the wind is fair & fresh, we pass'd a number of small Islands, & Rocks to day, particularly Gannets Rock, which was Cover'd with white Fowl in such Numbers, that at a distance it looks like a small Hill, Cover'd with Snow, These Fowl are Call'd Gannets or Solen Geese, they are almost as large as our Common Geese.
 - 15 The wind N: E.. we pass'd Peteet, Passage, to day.
- 16 We pass'd high Islands the wind is fair for us to go to Cumberland, where we are order'd.
- 17 At 10.. Clock A.. M: we Came to Anchor in Cumberland Bay about 4 Miles from the Town. the Country has a very pleasant appearance from where we lye, I am in a disagreeable Situation to-day, but there is not such a scence of Slaughter, and Blood shed, as I was in this day 12 Months.

- 18 This day we apply'd to the Capt for leave to go on shore but were refus'd.
 - 19 We sent on Shore, & Bought 2.. Fowlat 3. Lawful, dear indeed.
- We understand we are to sail the first fair wind, we had a fine dinner to-day, one Fowl roasted, and another Boil'd, with some pork and Potatoes, I made the best meal that I had made for about sixmonths past, some of the Inhabitants Brought some sheep along side to-day for which they asked $48/\mathfrak{P}$, piece for New: England Rum here is $21^8/4^4$ Lawful \mathfrak{P} Gallon.
- 21 This is the first day that has looked like summer since I came to Hallifax, we expect to sail from here tomorrow, if the wind do favour us, every day seems a month to me, I am very anxious to see my dear family once more.
- 22 We have up to day, and attempted to go down the Bay, but the wind was so fresh against us that we were obliged to Come to Anchor again, after falling down about 2.. Leagues.
 - 23 The wind blows very Strong & Contrary against us.
- 24 We had a heavy gale of wind at S.. W.. last night, it was suppos'd that we were in great danger, of driving on shore, but by letting go another Anchor, we Rode it out without any damage, the wind remains Still Contrary.
- 25 At 12.. O.. Clock to,day we sail'd from Cumberland with a fresh Breeze.
- 26 at 8... O Clock this morning we came to Anchor at the mouth of Anapolis Harbour, seven Leagues from the Town. from Fort Cumberland to this place is 30 Leagnes, Anapolis lays on the east side of the Bay of Fundy, the Land at the Mouth of the Harbour, is very Mountanious, and Barren, as is almost all the Land on this Coast which I have seen, at 3... O... Clock P: M: we weighed Anchor and put up the River, and at 6... of the Clock, Came to Anchor at Anoplis Town, which appears to have 50... or 60 Houses in it, and a fortification; several miles before we come to the Town, there are some Inhabitants, On both sides the River, where there is several very good Orchards, the Land in general, is Cold, spruce bad looking Land, but there is very fine Marshes here, which makes a very pretty appearance, as we Sailed up the River.
- 27 We apply'd for leave to go ashore to-day, but was refus'd the weather is very pleasant... This afternoon I was seized with a violent pain in my head, and soon afterwards, I was seized with a sickness in my Stomach, after vomiting very heartily, I felt some rilief at my stomach, but the pain in my head increas'd, I was visited by the Surgeon of the ship, who said I was in a high fever, & urged me to take a puke, which Operated very well upon me, after heaving up a large quantity of Bile, I found myself much better, and a tolerable Nights Rest.

- 28 I find myself very weak and something feverish, I have had blood let, after which I felt much better, I am now in hopes of escaping a fever, which last Night, I was much afraid of.
- 29 The weather is very fine, we heard to day, that the Milford ship of 28 Guns, has taken a Privateer of 18 Guns, belonging to Newbury Port, Commanded by one Tracy, we Bought some Veal to-day at 6^d Sterling P. pound, which is very Cheap, call'd here, at 7 O Clock we left the Scarborough (P. M) This morning we come to Sail with a good Breeze, we are extremely well Treated by Cap' Graves, and the other officiers on Board at 7 O Clock this evening we are abreast of Grand Manan.
- July 1 We have very little wind, the weather is very Cloudy, at 12.. O.. Clock We have a brisk Breeze and a thick Fogg.
- 2 The weather remains Foggy, we have a light Breeze; our General Course is S..S..W.. but as the weather is thick, and we not willing to fall in with the Land, untill it is Clearer, we keep running off and on waiting for the weather to Clear up.
- 3 The weather is Clear, we are in sight of Mount desert, we have a fresh Breeze at N: W.. We are Stearing for Machias, at 3.. O.. Clock, as we were about entering Machias harbour, we espied three small sail to windward, the Cap! sent a Barge after them, at 6.. O Clock the Barge Return'd with a small fishing Schooner as a prize, they inform'd the Cap! that there was a small privateer along shore, which fired several shot at them, at seven O Clock the Cap! order about 20.. hands on board the Schooner Which they had taken, with some Blunder-Busses and ther arms, and sent them off, after the Privateer, which was in sight when the Schooner left the ship, which was about sun'set.
- 4 We are Cruising up and down from Mount Desart to Machias waiting for the Schooner which went after the Privater last Night, the weather is very fine at 2..O.. Clock P: M: the Boats return'd with Two small fishing boats and two men we Anchor'd this Night by an Island, Called Mespecky.
- 5 about three Leagues from Machias Harbour, the boats were sent out this morning, and took a Small fishing schooner Laded with fish belonging to Portsmouth, one Fumell Master, by the writing found on Board, the people all left her, and went off in a Canoe, when they found they were like to be taken, we lay at anchor here all day.
- 6 This morning Cap! Graves gave two of the men, who were taken in some of the fishing Boats, liberty to take one of the Same, (by the name of Wallas: & Dyer) belonging to Narriguagos, a few leagues below Mount Desart; upon their promising to Carry Major Meigs, & myself to Casco, Bay, and at 10...O.. Clock, we left the ship and went up as far as Narriguagos, which is about 5 Leagues, and went on shore, to one Cap! Wallas's where we were very genteelly entertained.

- 7 This day being Sunday, we went to meeting, the weather is very warm, we found the people all in arms, to oppose any boats from the men of War, that attempted to land as they were apprehensive of their Coming to plunder for fresh Meat.
- 8 At seven O.. Clock in the morning we sailed for Casco: Bay, we made no Harbour this Night, we are off, abreast of Mount-Desart.
- 9 We have a light Breeze this morning at S.. W.. we pass'd the Bay, of Jericho this forenoon, this afternoon, we pass'd the Isle, of Holt, we saw a Number of very Large whales to day, at 5..O.. Clock this afternoon, we pass'd Ponabscutt Harbour, a few Leagues without this Harbour, is a number of small Islands, Call'd the Silley Islands, at 9..O.. Clock this evening, we came to an Anchor in a small bay Called Talland Harbour, where there are several families it is on the West side of Ponobscut Bay.
- 10 This morning we set sail at Sun-rise, but the Fogg being very thick we were obliged to put back to the same Harbour again we went on shore and got some milk and Greens, at 9..O..Clock the weather Cleared up a little and we put to sea, but soon after we put out, it came on very foggy again, it was so Foggy and Calm, that we concluded to go back into the Harbour again ... where we came to Anchor at 2..O..Clock P: M: Maj. Meigs & I agree'd to take our Land-Tacks on board and quit the Boat .. We walked 2 miles & Came to a river, Called George's River, we Cross'd the same and Came, to a Village Called George's Town, we walked Two miles, and Came to a river Call'd Madnmeook, which we Cross'd and Came to a Village call'd Madamcook, where there lives 40 families, we Tarried here one Night.
- 11 We started this morning for Broad Bay, which is six miles distant from here, at 9 O.. Clock we arrived at said Bay where there is fine settlements, the inhabitants seems to live very well; we were very Genteely Treated by Esq. Thomas, of said place, who I found was Nephew to Gen! Thomas in the Continental Army, said Thomas favour'd us with his Horse to Carry our Packs as far as Damascoty which is eight Miles, we Cross'd, Demoscoty River & walked Two miles to one Barkers Tayern, in a place Called Newcastle, here Stayed all night.
- 12 We hired Horses to go to Sheepscutt River, where we we arrived at 9 O.. Clock, we sent the Horses back again and Cross'd the River called Sheepscut, and walked one mile, and met some people to work on the High: way, we were asked into a house to cat some dinner, here we hired Two Horses to go to Kennebeck River, which is 15 miles, we Cross'd Kennebeck River, at sun-set & walked one mile, then Lodged at Mr Lamberts Tayern.
- 13 We hired said Lamberts Brother & Horses to Carry us to Falmouth, at 9...O.. Clock we Started, at 11...O.. Clock, we Cross'd Browns Ferry on Stephen's River, at 12...O.. Clock we arrived At Brumswick

which is 30 Miles from Casco, he we dined, here are a number of elegant Buildings, & the ruin of an old Fort, Called Brumswick Fort, at 4..O.. Clock P.M.. we left Brumswick, after passing thro, Yarmouth woods, which is 10 Miles, we pass'd through North-Yarmouth, and at Sun'set we arrived at Nights Tavern, which is 5 Miles to the eastward of Falmouth, and there put up and Tarryed all night.

- 14 We started early this morning for Falmouth, when we arrived at Falmouth, there we found a sloop ready to sail, in which several Masters of Vessels belonging to New England, who came from Hallifax, were going Passengers We also embarked on Board said sloop, & at 10.. O.. Clock sailed for Portsmouth, having but very little wind & that quite Contrary, we made but small headway.
- 15 This morning we are a Breast of Wood-Island, at 5..O..Clock P. M: we are abreast of old york, and the wind ahead.
- 16 This morning we are a Breast of the Isle-of Shoals, we have a small Breeze and are Running for the Light-house in Portsmouth-Harbour, which place rejoiced me very much to see once more, at 10.. O.. Clock, A: M: I arrived at Portsmouth to my Great joy, and at sunset arrived safe at my own House, at Nottingham, & found my wife well, my Children alive, & my friends in General, well.

FINIS.

March 25th 1777.





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